Lurese[*]

Overview

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Lurese, or *Lurisincu*, is the variety spoken in Luras, a town of 2500 inhabitants in the northern Sardinian province of Olbia-Tempio. From a linguistic point of view, Lurese constitutes a Logudorese enclave in a Gallurese area.

The present overview contains a brief sketch of the grammar of Lurese. The purpose is that of giving the user basic tools to understand the Lurese data collected in the DAI (spelling, phonology, morphology, morphosyntax) and to give an account of the main phenomena investigated (convergent gender marking in most agreement targets: § 2.3.1, 2.3.3, 2.3.4, 2.4, 2.7.2; undergoing change in the pronominal system: § 2.2.2; verb agreement and auxiliary selection in unaccusative and existential constructions: § 2.8, 2.9), together with reference to the theoretical framework adopted for the analysis.
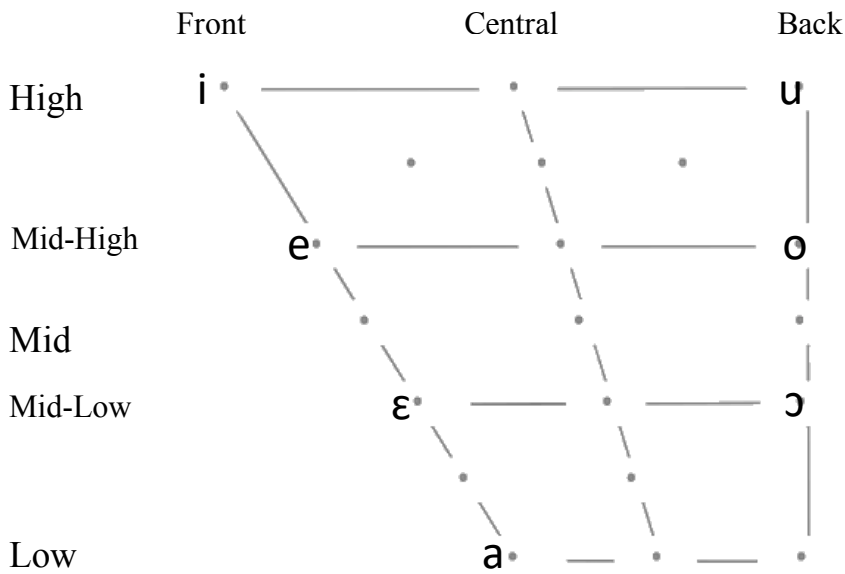
1   Phonology

1.1   Vowels

Lurese displays a Sardinian (Logudorese) vowel system, namely a 5-vowel system in which the long and short counterparts of Latin vowels have merged into one phoneme (Loporcaro 2011:56).

a. Latin	iː	i	eː	e	a	o	oː	u	uː
b. Sardinian	i		ɛ		a	ɔ		u	

Metaphony produces further change of the quality of the vowels, in that it raises stressed middle vowels ([ɛ / ɔ] > [e / o]) when followed by [-u] and [-i] (Blasco Ferrer 2008: 2882); however, such metaphonic outputs are not phonological in Lurese. As a consequence, metaphony in Lurese is not relevant to the morphosyntax of agreement, contrary to what happens in the southern-Italian varieties of the DAI (Agnonese, Altamurano, Ripano, Verbicarese).

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[*] Version December, 2018

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid-High	e		o
Mid			
Mid-Low	ɛ		ɔ
Low		a	

1.2 Consonants

	bilabial		labio-dental		dental			retroflex	post-alveolar	palatal	velar		labio-velar
plosive	p	b				t	d	ɖ		ɟ	k	[g]	
affricate						ts	dz		t͡ʃ				
fricative		β	f	[v]	ð	s	[z]		ʒ	ʝ	ɣ		
nasal		m	[ɱ]				n				[ŋ]		
lateral							l			ʎ			
trill							r						
approximant										j			

1.3 Transcription criteria

In the DAI a simplified spelling has been adopted which can be read unambiguously thanks to the conversion tables (from IPA to DAI orthographic system) presented in the following paragraphs.

1.3.1 Vowels

Considering the vowel system characterising Lurese, little needs to be said about vowel spelling: by convention, graphic accents are positioned on any stressed syllables other than the penultimate; accents on the penultimate only appear on mid vowels, in order to indicate their degree of height (any other mid vowel lacking a graphic accent is to be read as open, as per Logudorese vowel system).

Orthography	IPA	Depperu (2006)	Examples		
			Lur.	IPA	Eng. translation
‹i›	[i]		*issu*	[ˈisːu]	'he'
‹é›	[e]		*béntu*	[ˈbentu]	'wind'
‹è›	[ˈɛ]		*mèda*	[ˈmɛːða]	'very'
‹e›	[ɛ]		*pane*	[ˈpaːnɛ]	'bread'
‹a›	[a]		*manu*	[ˈmaːnu]	'hand'
‹ò›	[ˈɔ]		*bòe*	[ˈbɔːe]	'ox'
‹ó›	[o]		*ólzu*	[ˈoldzu]	'barley'
‹o›	[ɔ]		*càddhoso*	[ˈkaɖɖɔzɔ]	'horses'
‹u›	[u]		*caddhu*	[ˈkaɖːu]	'horse'

1.3.2 Consonants

This paragraph presents a small set of phenomena which are relevant to the transcription criteria adopted in the DAI for Lurese.[1]

1.3.3 Lenition

Unvoiced consonants in intervocalic position, both word-internally and at the word boundary, are always lenited. In our database, the voiced output is recorded in the orthography only when in word-internal position, but not when in external sandhi. The aim is that one same lexeme, in isolation, always shows the same orthography, independently from the context for lenition being present or not. This is exemplified with the following set of dentals:

‹t›	#[t]	*témpusu*	'time'
	V#[ð]V	*su témpusu*	'the time'
‹d›	V[ð]V	*nebòde*	'nephew'

1.3.4 External sandhi

However, there are two cases in which external sandhi phenomena are taken into account in orthography. The former involves lenition to Ø of fricatives in phonosyntactic intervocalic position. In this case, the word-initial consonant is not restored in orthography (1).

(1)   *sa bacca → s' acca*   [s ˈakːa] 'the cow'

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[1] Users of the DAI can refer to Virdis 1988: 907 and Blasco Ferrer & Contini 1988: 838 for concise yet thorough descriptions of consonantal phenomena in Logudorese.

The latter case is that involving two consonants at word boundaries: here too, phenomena in external sandhi (2), including *raddoppiamento fonosintattico* (3) (Loporcaro 1997), are recorded by orthography.

(2) *sas vàccasa* → *sal vàccasa*   [sal ˈvakːaza] 'the cows'
(3) *et bàccasa* → *e bbàccasa*   [e ˈbːakːaza] 'and cows'

The table below shows the orthographic norms adopted in the DAI for Lurese, also giving reference of those used in the Lurese dictionary edited by Depperu (2006).

Orthography	IPA	Depperu (2006)	Examples	
			Lur.	Eng. translation
‹p›	[p]	p	*appo*	'(I) have'
‹b›	[b]	b	*bacca*	'cow'
	V[β]V	b	*nebòde*	'nephew'
‹t›	[t]	t	*témpusu*	'time'
	V#[ð]V	-	*su témpusu*	'the time'
‹d›	[d]	d	*dòmo*	'house'
	V[ð]V	d	*nebòde*	'nephew'
‹ddh›	[ɖː]	ddh	*caddhu*	'horse'
‹c›	[k]V[-front]	c	*cane*	'dog'
‹ch›	[k]V[+front]	ch	*chibuddha*	'onion'
	V#[ɣ]V	-	*sa chibuddha*	'the onion'
‹g›	V[ɣ]V[-front]	g	*mandigare*	'to eat'
	[g]V[-front]	g	*gasi*	'this way'
‹gh›	V[ɣ]V[+front]	gh	*fàghere*	'to do'
‹ghj›	[ɟ]	y	*ghjogare*	'to play'
‹ci›	[tʃ]V	ci	*sal ciàese*	'the keys'
‹sg›	[ʒ]V[+front]	j	*chisgina*	'ash'
‹sgi›	[ʒ]V[-front]	j	*chiriàsgia*	'cherries'
‹f›	[f]	f	*féminasa*	'women'
	V#[v]V	-	*sa fémina*	'the woman'
‹v›	[v]	-	*sal vàccasa*	'the cows'
‹j›	V[j]V	y	*benùju*	'the knee'
	V#[j]V	-	*sa jàe*	'the key'
‹s›	[s]	s	*sòle*	'sun'
	V[z]V	s	*càddhoso*	'horses'
‹z›	[dz]	z	*mézzu*	'better'

‹n›	[n]	n	*niéddhu*	'black'
	[ŋ]	n	*ingullire*	'to swallow'
	[ɱ]	n	*infittu*	'thick'
	[m]	n	*un passu*	'a step'
‹r›	[r]	r	*ruju*	'red'
‹l›	[l]	l	*lughe*	'light'

2 Grammar

2.1 Nouns

Following Aronoff's (1994: 64) definition of an inflectional class as "a set of lexemes whose members each select the same set of inflectional realizations", it is possible to pinpoint four inflectional classes in Lurese noun system. The first three classes are etymologically derived from 1st, 2nd and 3rd Latin noun classes; class 1 and class 2 group almost exclusively feminine and masculine nouns respectively, while class 3 is made up of both masculine and feminine nouns.

As inferable from the table below, the only morphosyntactic relevant feature in Lurese nouns is NUMBER, which can have the two values of SINGULAR and PLURAL. These values are expressed by the different endings listed in the second column of Tab. 1.

class	endings	example	gloss	gender	remarks
1	*-a*/*-as*	*sa fémina*/*sas féminasa*	'woman/women'	F.	*su boètta*/*sas poèttasa* 'poet/-s' (and a few other masculine nouns)
2	*-u*/*-ɔs*	*su caddhu*/*sas càddhoso*	'horse/-s'	M.	*sa manu*/*sal mànoso* 'hand/-s' (feminine)
3	*-ɛ*/*-ɛs*	*su frade*/*sas fràdese*	'brother,-s'	M.	50%
		sa jaɛ/*sal ciàese*	'key,-s'	F.	50%
4	*-i*/*-is*	*su carabbinéri*/*sas carabbinérisi*	'carabineer,-s'	M.	

Tab. 1: Noun inflection classes in Lurese (Loporcaro 2006: 338; 2012: 223; 2015: 116)

2.2 Pronouns

2.2.1 Stressed pronouns (conservative system)

In conservative Lurese, subject stressed pronouns present different forms depending on the intersection between the values of PERSON and NUMBER. In 3rd persons, both SG and PL, conservative Lurese displays three different cells defined by GENDER (M, F, unmarked for gender) (Loporcaro 2015: 16).

	Subject		
	M = F	M	F
1SG	èo		
2SG	tue		
3SG	isse	issu	issa
1PL	nóisi		
2PL	bóisi		
3PL	ìssese	ìssoso	ìssasa

Tab. 2: Subject pronouns

Oblique pronouns differ from subject pronouns only in 1SG and 2SG (Blasco Ferrer & Contini 1988: 840). The morphology of these oblique pronouns is showed in the table below.

	DO = IO	OBL	COM
1SG	a mmìe	dae / de / po me	cu mmécusu
2SG	a ttìe	dae / de / po te	cun técusu

Tab. 3: Oblique pronouns

2.2.2   3rd person stressed pronouns: changes observable in the DAI data

As mentioned in paragraph 2.2.1, conservative Lurese displays three different forms for 3SG and 3PL person pronouns, defined by different values for the feature GENDER. These are shown in the table below.

a.	SG	PL			b. Latin etyma	
M = F	issɛ	issɛs	(gender-unmarked)		IPSE	---
M	issu	issɔs	(masculine)	<	IPSUM	IPSOS
F	issa	issas	(feminine)		IPSAM	IPSAS

Tab. 4: 3SG/PL stressed pronouns in Lurese and their etyma (Loporcaro 2015: 116)

The forms most commonly used are those unmarked for gender (*isse*.3SG, *isses*.3PL) while the others, marked as M and F, are only used for disambiguation (Loporcaro 2015: 116).

Loporcaro (2006) has shown that this tripartite system arose via exaptation, in that *isse* and *issu*, which originally were both 3SG.M forms in free variation, have been re-functionalised to mark different gender values (or lack thereof). In parallel, a non-etymological form *isses* was created in the plural, following the model of the new gender-based tripartite structure of 3SG pronouns. According to Loporcaro (2006), this process was favoured by the availability of a model in noun inflectional classes: in the noun system, in fact, alongside two classes associated to M and F (the 1st,

in *-a, -as*, and the 2nd, *in -u, -os*), there is another one, ending in *-e, -es*, to which both M and F nouns are assigned (see § 2.1).

So far the situation as described in the previous literature, and which we can refer to as 'conservative Lurese'. However, as recently pointed out by Loporcaro, Romagnoli & Wild (2018), interviews conducted in 2016 in order to collect data on agreement (and agreement changes) for the DAI have shown that Lurese pronominal system is becoming convergent in the plural, therefore moving towards simplification.

Users of the DAI should refer to Loporcaro, Romagnoli & Wild (2018) for extended explanations concerning the pronominal systems represented in Tab.5, as well as a possible interpretation of these from a diachronic perspective. For the sake of the present overview, it should be sufficient to recall that the demise of the form *issos*, as observable in the majority of the speakers, is interpretable as a parallel to the demise of the ending *-os* observable in the agreement targets (see below, §§ 2.3, 2.4, 2.7.2).

	a. conservative (stage1)	
	SG	PL
M = F	isse	isses
M	issu	issos
F	issa	issas

SA (1918), PD (1943), FS (1938), DS (1957)

	b. intermediate A (stage 2)	
	SG	PL
	isse	isses
	issu	
	issa	issas

PL (1942), FD (1943), MGA (1947), AL (1959), MM (1960)

	c. innovative (stage 3)	
	SG	PL
	isse	isses
	issu	
	issa	

GS (1986), LDS (1991)

Tab. 5: Cross-individual variation in 3rd person pronouns (data adapted from Loporcaro et al. 2018)

2.2.3 Clitic pronouns

Logudorese shows a conservative behaviour as for the position of clitics: in fact, in infinitival constructions the clitic pronoun always precedes the infinite verb, while in infinitival constructions with modal verb the clitic pronouns precedes the modal verb.

Lurese behaves like the rest of the Logudorese dialects as for constructions with modal verbs; however, in simple infinitival constructions Lurese admits enclisis – and not only proclisis – to the infinite verb (Loporcaro 2006: 135-5).

Table Tab. 6: Clitic pronouns shows the clitic forms of personal pronouns in Lurese.

	OD		OI
	M	F	
1SG	mi		
2SG	ti		
3SG	lu	la	li
1PL	nos		

2PL	bos	
3PL	las	

Tab. 6: Clitic pronouns

2.2.4 Locative clitics

Logudorese preserves the deictic function of locative (and existential) clitic pronouns *bbi* < IBI (4), *che* < HINC (5) and *ndhe* < INDE (6).

(4) [PP In   piàtta]   [ø]   bbi=   ada   [NP mèdas   pessònese]

     in   square(F).SG   Dummy.3M.SG   LOC=   have.PRS.3SG   many.PL   person(F).PL

    There are a lot of people in the square

(5) Passèndhe   [PP dai   [NP custa   carrèra]]   [NP ø]   ch'=   essimus
    pass.GER   through   DEM.PROX.F.SG   street(F).SG   1.PL   LOC=   exit.PRS.1PL

    [PP in   [NP sa   piàtta]]
    in   DEF.F.SG   square(F).SG

    Passing through this path we end up in the square

(6) [NP ø]   ndh'=   ès   falada   [PP in   [NP sa   carrèra]]

    3F.SG   LOC=   be.PRS.3SG   fell.PTP.F.SG   in   DEF.F.SG   street(F).SG

    (I was on the balcony shaking the tablecloth, it slipped away and) It fell on the street

Locative clitics are sometimes used in a pleonastic sense (Blasco Ferrer 2008: 2897).

(7) Pésa   = di   = ndhe   [NP ø]   [PP dai   [NP su   lettu,]]
    get_up.IMP.2SG   = REFL.2SG   = LOC   2.SG   from   DEF.M.SG   bed(M).SG

    [NP babbu   tóu]   s' =   è   jja   ischidadu

    father(M).SG   POSS.2SG.M.SG   REFL.3 =   be.PRS.3SG   already   wake_up.PTP.M.SG

    Get up! Your father woke up already

2.3 Determiners

2.3.1 Definite article

As mentioned above, agreement targets in Lurese show a convergent agreement system, so that the gender distinction observable in the singular is neutralised in the plural. This system is a paramount example of a contact-induced change: Lurese, which is a Logudorese enclave in a Gallurese area,

has replicated the Gallurese convergent system in which the neutralisation was phonologically motivated (Loporcaro 2006: 132).

Interestingly, the extension of the originally F.PL ending -*as* as a plural marker, irrespective of the gender, only concerns agreement targets, while it does not affect nouns.

	SG	PL
M	su	sas
F	sa	

	SG	PL
M	su piséddhu	**sas** pisèddh**os**
F	sa pisèddha	**sas** pisèddh**as**

Tab. 7: Definite article

2.3.2 Indefinite article

	SG
M	unu
F	una

Tab. 8: Indefinite article

2.3.3 Demonstratives

Demonstratives in Sardinian used to display three degrees of proximity. Nowadays, Lurese speakers (as is the case for Logudorese in general) tend to reduce this opposition to two degrees only, using the forms *custu/cussu* in free variation for proximality (Blasco Ferrer 2008: 2891; Blasco Ferrer & Contini 1988: 839).

	SG	PL
M	custu	custas
F	custa	

Tab. 9: Demonstrative pronouns, proximal

	SG	PL
M	cussu	cussas
F	cussa	

Tab. 10: Demonstrative pronouns, medial

	SG	PL
M	cuddhu	cuddhas
F	cuddha	

Tab. 11: Demonstrative pronouns, distal

The tables above show that, as in the other agreement targets, the originally feminine ending -*as* has been extended to mark only the number value PLURAL.

2.3.4 Possessives

The morphosyntactic features relevant to possessives inflection are PERSON, NUMBER and GENDER. In possessives too, however, plural displays only one form ending in -*as*, neutralised as for gender.

		SG	PL
1SG	M	méu	mèas
	F	mèa	

2SG	M	tùo	tùas
	F	tùa	
3SG	M	suo	sùas
	F	sùa	
1PL	M	nóstru	nòstras
	F	nòstros	
2PL	M	bóstru	bòstras
	F	bòstros	
3PL	M	issóro	
	F		

Tab. 12: Possessives

In Lurese, possessives are always postnominal.

2.4   Adjectives

Lurese adjectives are assigned to two different inflectional classes descending from 1st and 2nd Latin adjective classes. Class I displays a convergent system, the same as observed in all other Lurese agreement targets, involving neutralisation of gender values in the plural through the adoption of one only ending *-as*. In class II, the system is binary with no gender distinction in either singular nor plural.

	SG	PL
M	-u	-as
F	-a	

Tab. 13: Class I adjectives

	SG	PL
M	-e	-es
F		

Tab. 14: Class II adjective

	SG	PL
M	niéddhu	nièddhas
F	nièddha	

Tab. 15: Examples of class I adjectives

	SG	PL
M	minòre	minòres
F		

Tab. 16: Example of class II adjectives

2.5   Adverbs

Adverbs are not agreement targets in Lurese, as opposed to other varieties represented in the DAI (Agnonese, Altamurano, Verbicarese, Ripano), belonging to the Central-Southern Italo-Romance subdivision.

2.6   Quantifiers

In Lurese, when the quantifier *mèda* 'many' is immediately adjacent to the noun it quantifies, agreement of the quantifier with the modified noun depends on the relative position between controller and target. More specifically, when the quantifiers precede the head noun then the latter manages to control agreement on the former (8); conversely, a noun preceding the quantifier fails in controlling agreement (9). [2]

(8) [_{PP} In biddh']   ø   à   ccappitadu   [_{NP} mèdal   dilgràsgiasa]

    in   town(F).SG   Dummy.3M.SG   have.PRS.3SG   happen.PTP.M.SG   many.PL   misfortune(F).PL

   Many misfortunes happened in town

(9) [_{PP} In biddh']   ø   à   ccappitadu   [_{NP} *dilgràsgiasa   *mèdasa]

    in   town(F).SG   Dummy.3M.SG   have.PRS.3SG   happen.PTP.M.SG   misfortune(F).PL   many.PL

   [Intended] *Many misfortunes happened in town*

The floating quantifier *tóttu* 'all' is invariable in many Sardinian varieties (Jones 1993: 37f; Cinque 1995: 189), yet this is not the case in Lurese, which displays a behaviour similar to those Logudorese varieties (Sennori, Perfugas, Bulzi, Nulvi) described by Wild (2017). In Lurese, in fact, the possibility for *tóttu* to agree is related to the syntactic context in which it appears: it never agrees when adjacent to the NP it quantifies (10), while it may – or may not – agree with the quantified noun when the two are not adjacent (11, 12: the two examples are taken from the same speaker, PiCa)[3].

(10) Sòn   istadas   abèltas   [_{NP} tóttu   sal   buscias]

     be.PRS.3PL   be.PTP.PL   open.PTP.PL   all.M.SG   DEF.PL   envelope(F).PL

     All the envelopes have been opened

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[2] According to Jones (1993: 170), in Sardinian the prenominal position is preferred to the postnominal one. Furthermore, some varieties do accept agreeing *mèda* in postnominal position (Jones 1993: 36).

[3] In the varieties presented by Wild (2017) there is a further condition influencing agreement of the quantifier, that is, the quantifier agrees with the non-adjacent quantified noun only if the noun is singular (e.g. in Sennorese *sa zuppa*.F.SG *me l'appo mandigada totta*.F.SG 'The soup, I have eaten it all'); in the plural, many speakers only select the non-agreeing form (*sos melos*.PL *me los appo mandigados tottu*.M.SG / **tottos*.PL; all examples from Sennorese adapted from Wild 2017:23). This is not the case in Lurese, in which agreement of the quantifier with the non-adjacent NP is possible with plural nouns too, e.g. *cuddal vaccal*.PL *biàncasa las=amul véndidas tòttas*.PL 'Those white cows, we have sold them all').

(11) [NP ø]   si =   [NP l'=]   ana   jjà   mandigada   [QP tòtta]

      3M.PL   REFL.3 =   DO3F.SG = have.PRS.3PL   already   eat.PTP.F.SG   all.F.SG

      (The soup) They have already eaten it all

(12) [NP ø]   si =   [NP l'=]   ana   jjà   mandigada   [QP tóttu]

      3M.PL   REFL.3 =   DO3F.SG = have.PRS.3PL   already   eat.PTP.F.SG   all.M.SG

      (The soup) They have already eaten it all

Finally, in Logudorese dialects quantifiers generally show a peculiar syntactic behaviour with numerals, in that in this context they select the otherwise F.PL form in -*as*, e.g. *tottal duos óminese* 'both of the men' vs *tottu/-os/*-as sos óminese* 'all the men'.[4] In Lurese, due to netrualisation of gender distinction in the plural, it is not possible to observe this gender-related peculiarity (-*as* here marks agreement with both M.PL and F.PL controller); nonetheless, it is still interesting to notice that this is the only context in which the quantifier *tóttu* agrees with an adjacent NP (13).

(13) [NP ø]   [null appo   idu]   [NP tòttas   très   amìgoso]

      1.SG   have.PRS.1SG   see.PTP.M.SG   all.PL   three   friend(M).PL

      I saw all three friends

2.7 Verbs

Lurese verbs are organised in three conjugations. Among these, II conjugation groups two subclasses: while IIa collects verbs from Latin 2nd and 3rd conjugations now displaying one only unstressed ending -*ere*, IIb contains verbs from Latin 4th conjugation (-IRE) (Loporcaro 2003). Interestingly, in class IIb only the infinite form has been modified following the model of class IIa, while the stem vowel – as visible in the present indicative and in the imperative – has remained -*i*- (Loporcaro 2003: 96).

	I macroclass	II macroclass			
	I conjug.	II conjug.		III conjug.	
inf.	cantare	IIa prènnere	IIb mòrrere	finire	
1SG	canto	prènno	mòlzo	fino	present ind.
2SG	càntasa	prènnese	mórisi	fìnisi	

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[4] According to Jones (1993: 38), some varieties display both *tòttas* and the invariable *tóttu* in free alternation when followed by a numeral.

3SG	càntada	prènnede	móridi	fìnidi	
1PL	cantàmoso	prennìmoso	morìmoso	finìmoso	
2PL	cantèdese	prennìdese	morìdese	finìdese	
3PL	càntana	prènnene	mórini	fìnini	
2SG	canta	prènne	móri	fìni	imperative
2PL	cantade	prennide	moride	finide	

Tab. 17: Verb inflectional classes in Luras Logudorese (adapted from Loporcaro 2003: 98)

In the DAI, the distinction among four subclasses has been signalled by attributing to each of the subclasses the queryable values Class: {I, II, III, IV}.

2.7.1 Auxiliaries

Lurese has two types of auxiliaries, HAVE and BE. Their paradigms are shown in the tables below.

àere	
1SG	appo
2SG	às
3SG	àt
1PL	amus
2PL	azzis
3PL	ana

Tab. 18: Auxiliary 'have'

èssere	
1SG	sò
2SG	ès
3SG	èste
1PL	sémus
2PL	sézzis
3PL	sòno

Tab. 19: Auxiliary 'be'

Following Perlmutter (1978; 1989), selection of one or the other auxiliary in compound tenses permits to pinpoint two types of intransitive verbs, namely unergatives (selecting auxiliary HAVE) and unaccusatives (selecting auxiliary BE). As I shall show in the next paragraph (2.7.2), auxiliary selection is tightly connected with past participle agreement in compound tenses.

2.7.2 Past participle

Past participles show the same inflectional endings as class I adjectives (see § 2.4), therefore displaying gender neutralisation in the plural. Depending on the presence, or lack thereof, of stress on the stem, they are further divided between weak (with unstressed stem) and strong (with stressed stem).

	SG	PL
M	mandhigadu	mandhigadas
F	mandhigada	

Tab. 20: Weak PtP

	SG	PL
M	abéltu	abèltas
F	abèlta	

Tab. 21: Strong PtP

2.8 Auxiliary selection and past participle agreement in Lurese compound tenses: examples from unaccusative constructions

In compound tenses, Logudorese past participle agrees (in gender and number) with the subject according to a series of rules widely discussed in Loporcaro (1998). In the present overview I will recall the main points investigated in the DAI.

Let us start by a simple generalisation, that is, with unmarked word orders, past participle agrees with the subject if the auxiliary is *be* (14); conversely, a non-agreeing past participle only occurs in compound tenses with auxiliary *have* (15). This generalisation is in line with the theoretical premise that unergative arguments behave similarly to transitive subjects and unaccusative arguments behave similarly to transitive object. As shown in the examples below, this similarity in behaviour concerns the argument position too.

(14) Sòn   bénnidas   [NP sólu   sas   amigos   sùas]

be.PRS.3PL   come.PTP.PL   only.M.SG   DEF.PL   friend(M).PL   POSS.3PL

Only their friends came

(15)   [NP Sas   pisèddhoso]   ana   mandhigadu

DEF.PL   boy(M).PL   have.PRS.3PL   eat.PTP.M.SG

The boys ate

In (14), the auxiliary BE, agreeing in person and number with the subject *sas amigos sùas*, is selected together with the past participle *bénnidas* agreeing in gender and number with the subject. In (15), displaying an unergative construction, the auxiliary HAVE agrees in person and number with the subject *sas pisèddhoso*, yet the past participle displays the default (M.SG) form.

Unergative constructions, as well as transitive, do not pose particular analytical problems: with unmarked word order SV(O), they always show the same behaviour described above. Furthermore, in those transitive constructions in which the direct object is a clitic pronoun, the past participle agrees with the direct object if this is a 3rd person clitic (16); otherwise, it shows the default form (17) (Loporcaro 1998: 42f.).

(16) [NP ssas   attòrese]   [NP ø]   nò   [NP llas=]   appo   ìdasa   / *idu

DEF.PL   actor(M).PL   1.SG   NEG   DO3.PL=   have.PRS.1SG   see.PTP.PL   *see.PTP.M.SG

I have not seen the actors

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(17) [_{NP} Maridu   tóu]   [_{NP} t' =]   à   bbidu   / *bbida

     husband(M).SG   POSS.2SG.M.SG   DO2.SG =   have.PRS.3SG   see.PTP.M.SG   *see.PTP.F.SG

     Your husband saw you

Let us move on with unaccusative constructions, like the one presented above (here repeated in 18), and let us add another example (19).

(18) Sòn   bénnidas   [_{NP} sólu   sas   amigos   sùas]

     be.PRS.3PL   come.PTP.PL   only.M.SG   DEF.PL   friend(M).PL   POSS.3PL

     Only their friends did come

(19) Ad   arrividu   [_{NP} très   pessònese]

     have.PRS.3SG   arrive.PTP.M.SG   three   person(F).PL

     Three people have arrived

This couple of examples shows that, even with the same word order, different behaviours as for auxiliary selection and past participle agreement are possible. In fact, an extensive literature on this topic (see at least La Fauci & Loporcaro 1997) has shown that definiteness is a condition for agreement in dialects like Lurese. It is for this reason that in example (19), where the NP *très pessònese* is indefinite, such NP does not control agreement on either the auxiliary *have* (showing the default 3SG form) nor the past participle (showing the default M.SG form).

In the DAI we adopt the theoretical framework of La Fauci and Loporcaro (1993), (1997), according to which unaccusative sentences can be distinguished in two groups depending on their behaviour in terms of auxiliary selection and past participle agreement. In sentences like (19), in which there is no agreement relation between the argument and the verb, we assume that the indefinite NP is not the subject and does not control agreement; in fact, in this kind of constructions, what controls agreement is a silent dummy (ø) that, not being marked in any way for gender or number, only displaces the default values (3rd person, MASCULINE, SINGULAR) onto the target (20).

(20) ø   ad   arrividu   [_{NP} très   pessònese]

     Dummy.3M.SG   have.PRS.3SG   arrive.PTP.M.SG   three   person(F).PL

     Three people have arrived

Furthermore, the structure of this 'non-agreeing' construction is – to some extent – the same as those transitive (and unergative) seen above, in which the subject was only able to control agreement on the auxiliary. It is for this reason that we believe that the M.SG form of the past participle is not

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a matter of values of the controller (namely the Dummy) transmitted to it, but rather an 'autonomous default form'.

2.9   Existential constructions in Lurese

The same principles described so far for compound tenses in unaccusative construction are applicable to Lurese existential constructions as well, and to finite copular verbs too. In Lurese existentials, in fact, the copular verb can be either BE or HAVE, depending on whether the pivot is definite or not, respectively (compare 21 and 22, as well as the grammaticality judgement in 23).[5]

(21) [PP In [NP sa   piàtta]]   ø   bb'= à   [NP zzènte   mèda]

     in   DEF.F.SG   square(F).SG   Dummy.3M.SG   LOC= have.PRS.3SG   people(F).SG   many

     There are a lot of people in the square

(22) Bbi=   sóno   [NP cussas   cadrèasa]   e   bbasta

     LOC=   be.PRS.3PL   DEM.PROX.PL   chair(F).PL   and   INTERJ

     There are only these chairs

(23) ø   bb'= *à   [NP ccussas   cadrèasa]   e   bbasta

     Dummy.3M.SG   LOC= have.PRS.3SG   DEM.PROX.PL   chair(F).PL   and   INTERJ

     There are only these chairs

Interestingly, with marked word order causing the existential pivot to occur in preverbal position, the pivot systematically manages to control agreement on the past participle and to trigger selection of copula BE. More precisely, with this word order BE is the only type of copula allowed. This is shown in the following examples from the DAI involving a finite verb and the same indefinite NP *una cadrèa* alternatively in postverbal (24) and preverbal (25) position.[6]

(24) [PP In [NP cuss'   istànzia]]   ø   bb'= ada   [NP una   cadrèa]

     in   DEM.DIST.F.SG   room(F).SG   Dummy.3M.SG   LOC= have.PRS.3SG   one.F.SG   chair(F).SG

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[5] For a description of the phenomenon in other Sardinian varieties see La Fauci & Loporcaro 1997 and Bentley, Ciconte & Cruschina 2015.

[6] For a thorough account of the phenomenon in terms of definiteness effects and promotion to subject see Bentley 2013 and Bentley, Ciconte & Cruschina 2015.

In this room there is a chair

(25) [NP una   cadrèa]   bbi=   èste,   ma   ddùal   no

one.F.SG   chair(F).SG   LOC=   be.PRS.3SG   but   two   NEG

There IS a chair, but there are not two

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